

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00215 071902Z

51

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 079098

P R 071732Z JUL 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2618

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0215

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF JULY 7, 1975

(SALT TWO - 661)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF JULY 7, 1975

QUOTE

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
JULY 7, 1975

MR. MINISTER:

I

AT THEIR MEETING IN VLADIVOSTOK LAST NOVEMBER, PRESIDENT FORD
AND GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV DECIDED THAT AN AGREEMENT LIMITING
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS SHOULD BE COMPLETED BETWEEN OUR TWO

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00215 071902Z

COUNTRIES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF SIGNING

IT IN 1975. THIS WAS FORMALIZED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974.

A MAJOR PROVISION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT IS THAT THE TOTAL OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS FOR EACH SIDE WILL NOT EXCEED AN AGGREGATE OF 2400. THIS LIMITATION APPLIES TO ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS, TO HEAVY BOMBERS AND TO AIR-TO-SURFACE BALLISTIC MISSILES OF RANGE GREATER THAN 600 KILOMETERS CARRIED ON BOMBERS (ASBMS).

IT IS OUR TASK HERE TO PREPARE THIS NEW AGREEMENT, BASED ON THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED AT VLADIVOSTOK. IN ORDER THAT THE AGREEMENT PROVIDE FOR EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY FOR BOTH PARTIES, WE MUST RESPECT CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES. ONE OF THESE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES IS THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT MUST BE ADEQUATELY VERIFIABLE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS. ACHIEVING ADEQUATE VERIFICATION, AS WE HAVE NOTED BEFORE, WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE NEW AGREEMENT THAN IT WAS FOR THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. IN A LATER STATEMENT, I PLAN TO RETURN TO THIS ISSUE AND TO THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS WHICH IT POSES FOR BOTH SIDES.

ANOTHER FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE IS THAT THE VARIOUS SYSTEMS TO BE LIMITED, WHICH DIFFER IN THEIR DETAILED CHARACTERISTICS AND CAPABILITIES, MUST BE TREATED IN A FAIR AND EQUITABLE WAY IN THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. WE HAVE DEVOTED A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF STUDY TO THE APPLICATION OF THIS PRINCIPLE TO THE NEW AGREEMENT. IT IS TO THE APPLICATION OF THIS PRINCIPLE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR CERTAIN SPECIFIC STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS THAT I WILL TURN TODAY.

II

I WILL DISCUSS IN PARTICULAR TWO IMPORTANT QUESTIONS REGARDING SYSTEMS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE 2400 AGGREGATE. THE FIRST QUESTION IS WHICH AIRCRAFT ARE TO BE CONSIDERED HEAVY BOMBERS AND THEREFORE TO BE INCLUDED IN THIS AGGREGATE. THE DETERMINATION OF WHETHER A SPECIFIC AIRCRAFT IS A HEAVY BOMBER REQUIRES

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00215 071902Z

EITHER A DEFINITION OF THE TERM, "HEAVY BOMBER", OR MUTUAL AGREEMENT ON WHICH AIRCRAFT SHALL BE SO COUNTED. BOTH SIDES HAVE ADOPTED THE LATTER APPROACH AND ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT THE TERM "HEAVY BOMBER" WILL APPLY TO CERTAIN SPECIFIC DESIGNATED TYPES OF AIRCRAFT.

THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING, AS RECORDED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, DID NOT IDENTIFY THE SPECIFIC TYPES OF AIRCRAFT TO

BE INCLUDED AS HEAVY BOMBERS IN THE NEW AGREEMENT. THE TYPES OF AIRCRAFT WHICH BOTH SIDES THUS FAR AGREE SHOULD BE COUNTED AS HEAVY BOMBERS -- THAT IS, THE B-52, B-1, SOVIET TUPOLEV (BEAR) AND MYASISHCHEV (BISON) -- ENCOMPASS A RANGE OF TECHNICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND INHERENT CAPABILITIES. THE TECHNICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND INHERENT CAPABILITIES OF THE SOVIET TUPOLEV VARIABLE GEOMETRY WING AIRCRAFT, THE BACKFIRE, FALL WITHIN THIS RANGE. THEREFORE, THE US REAFFIRMS ITS VIEW THAT THE BACKFIRE IS A HEAVY BOMBER AND SHOULD BE INCLUDED WITHIN THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION.

THE OTHER SUBJECT WHICH I WISH TO DISCUSS IS THAT OF CRUISE MISSILES. IN OUR VIEW, THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD DEALT ONLY WITH LIMITATIONS ON BALLISTIC MISSILES. THE POSITION OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION THAT ALL AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES OF RANGE GREATER THAN 600 KILOMETERS CARRIED ON BOMBERS ARE TO BE COUNTED IN THE 2400 AGGREGATE DOES NOT AGREE WITH OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD. IN THE US VIEW, THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION AGREED UPON AT VLADIVOSTOK AND REFLECTED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE APPLIES TO AIR-TO-SURFACE BALLISTIC MISSILES, WITH RANGES GREATER THAN 600 KILOMETERS, INSTALLED ON BOMBERS.

THERE ARE IMPORTANT DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN AIR-TO-SURFACE BALLISTIC MISSILES AND AIR-TO-SURFACE CRUISE MISSILES. THE QUESTION OF LIMITATIONS ON AIR-TO-SURFACE CRUISE MISSILES IS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, RELATED TO THE QUESTION OF BOMBER EFFECTIVENESS. UNLIKE THE PENETRATION OF ICBMS AND SLBMS WHICH, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, IS ASSURED BY THE LIMITATIONS OF THE ABM TREATY, THE PENETRATION CAPABILITY OF BOMBERS IS DEGRADED BY AIR DEFENSES. AIR-TO-SURFACE CRUISE MISSILES ARE, IN TURN, PENETRATION AIDS FOR BOMBERS FACED WITH EXTENSIVE AIR DEFENSES WHICH ARE NOT LIMITED. THE SOVIET POSITION DOES NOT REFLECT THE REALITY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 SALT T 00215 071902Z

OF THIS SITUATION IN THAT IT WOULD INCLUDE AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES "OF ANY TYPE" IN THE AGGREGATE. MOREOVER, THE SOVIET POSITION GOES BEYOND THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING BY CONTAINING A BAN ON AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES ON AIRCRAFT OTHER THAN BOMBERS. SINCE LIMITATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILES WERE NOT ADDRESSED IN THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD AND SINCE ASBMS AND CRUISE MISSILES DIFFER IN THEIR CHARACTERISTICS AND CAPABILITIES, THE US VIEW IS THAT, IF AIR-TO-SURFACE CRUISE MISSILES ARE DEALT WITH IN THE NEW AGREEMENT, THEY MUST BE DEALT WITH ON A BASIS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF ASBMS.

III

MR. MINISTER, I HAVE DISCUSSED TODAY MATTERS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS. I HOPE THAT THESE VIEWS

WILL BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT SO THAT WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS
TOWARD THE OBJECTIVE OF CONCLUDING AN AGREEMENT THIS YEAR.

UNQUOTE

JOHNSON

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, AMBASSADORS, SPEECHES, SALT (ARMS CONTROL)
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SALTT00215
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750234-0137
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750780/aaaactux.tel
Line Count: 175
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 75 LECTED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, 75 APPLIES TO AIR-TO-SURFACE
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 JUL 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: WITHDRAWN <16 JUN 2003 by CunninFX, REFER TO DOD/OSD>; RELEASED <15 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <15 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF JULY 7, 1975 (SALT TWO - 661)
TAGS: PARM, (JOHNSON)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006